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yelled at the guest that he had six fingers. Any unfavorable reference to physical appearance or peculiarities is a deadly insult, and in this instance the guest took the opportunity to institute a litigation against the boys, demanding a moko worth two dollars and fifty cents as a fine. There was no attempt to deny the guilt of the children, although only Red Eyes was to blame, and the older kin immediately set out to round up the culprits. Several of them managed to escape. Eight others were dragged to the dance place and made to squat on the ground before the bench of the chief. The kin of the children made a proper show of indignation and two of the stricter ones collected the boys' bows and arrows to toss them on the fire. Several of the men rapped their own children sharply on the heads with their knuckles.

By this time the younger and less hardened boys were openly in tears. Meanwhile Red Eyes' father was summoned in his son's stead, and after a long discussion the insulted guest was persuaded to accept a broken gong worth fifty cents as compensation. The tumukun then delivered a moral lecture, which was one of the rare occasions when behavioral precepts were laid down. He said, "If a person is lame, do not stare at him; if someone has big eyes, do not mention it; if someone makes mistakes in talking, do not laugh. If you do these things, people become angry and then your fathers and elder brothers will have to pay a fine for your faults." Here, the tumukun was expounding proper behavior, particularly for males. Another informant, in drawing the differences between men and women, said that men had to be more careful than women not to be insulting, because they were more vulnerable to financial revenge.

The anecdote quoted above serves to illustrate many points: First, children are held responsible for misdeeds; second, group responsibility holds even for children; third, a child can escape some of the repercussions of his misdeeds by running off and hiding; and lastly, moral lectures are customarily delivered after, rather than before, the misdeed has been committed.

The responsibility of boys for misdeeds, especially theft, is illustrated in a number of incidents in the autobiographies. Perhaps even more far-reaching in its implications is the inclination of people to blame any mishap, destruction, or theft on children. On several occasions when I complained of the theft or destruction of my property, I was answered with a shrug and the comment that boys must have done it and that therefore there was little chance of discovering the guilty one. Actually, in those instances that could be followed up adults were the real culprits.

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of sisters with whom he was accused of improper relations at least five years before, and prior to the women's marriages. Nothing of the affair had been suspected until both women had difficulty in childbirth and their husbands beat confessions out of them.

Since a child scarcely ever results from occasional lapses from chastity, both men and women feel free in that respect as long as they are careful not to be caught. When I explained to Fantan the Interpreter that we had different ideas in our culture, his comment was, "Oh, that's too bad," which was a nice index of the amount of latitude the Atimelangers' ideas of conception give them in respect to their ideas of sex morality. The very obvious advantage of such ideas of conception makes Atimelangers, in discussing the subject, extremely unwilling to abandon them, even though they grant that sows will conceive after a single contact with a male. They are quick to add, however, that three or four days in the pen with a male produces a larger litter. It is a nice example of how reluctant people can be to abandon formulations justifying congenial behavior and consistent with elaborated attitudes.

It is interesting that, as in many other cultures, illegitimate children seldom, if ever, occur. In the Five Villages there was only one illegitimate child, the offspring of Matingma the Crazy Woman. Since Matingma's craziness was phrased mostly in terms of sex, her aberrant and almost unique status deserves mention here. Matingma was considered in her youth a perfectly normal person. She married a man in the Kalaisi area with whom she did not get along, so she returned to live with her father. On her return several young men wished to buy her. Time after time a preliminary payment was made, but each time the man involved requested the return of her bride-price because she was having affairs with other men. Her father assumed a bland attitude toward these complaints, answering, "Your wife is still here. Go sleep with her if you wish. I won't be angry." After about four such episodes no further attempt to purchase her was made.

During the first few years after her return, and at a time when she was not in permanent residence with any one man, she bore a child. In view of the local theory of conception, she was undoubtedly considered to have been far more loose morally than she may actually have been. In the course of time she came to be known as the "crazy woman." Her illegitimate child and her profligacy were adduced as evidence. It will be recalled that the fact that she took her child to the fields with her and permitted it to sleep on the ground was another bit of evidence. At the time of this investigation Matingma was at least in her late thirties and had become a sort of village prostitute. "She steals

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158 dead father was calling him. He came to a big stone and pretended to
787 catch a rat under it. Then he broke off a piece of stick, held it near his
828 crotch, and offered it to one of his guardians for his hungry children. The man who was the butt of this malice struck Fanseni's fingers only to have him say, "Eh, that's fine." Also, on the way down the slope Fanseni ate certain foods raw that are ordinarily cooked. A little later, without showing any signs of discomfort, he ate a raw tuber known to be extremely astringent.

158 Finally he reached his father's grave and there ordered the others to
787 dig his own grave just about two yards away. This they did. He then
828 gave them further orders, such as to fetch his shroud and eating plate
762 and to give his bow to a cousin. All these errands he assigned one at a time in order to have people run back and forth as much as possible. Finally he adjusted his shroud and got into the grave. He got out again, however, complaining that a stone in it made him uncomfortable and asking to have it removed. He got in once more and then asked to have his food plate placed next to his body under the shroud. One of the guardians asked, "Are you finished?" Fanseni answered, "I am through, so cover me up." People began shoving in the earth and Fanseni spoke for the last time, saying, "Now I am glad. Just now it was bad. That must not be. Now it is good."

When the earth completely covered his body, Fanseni moved. In a panic the buriers fetched two large stones and hastily dropped them on him before they finished filling in the grave. The whole event naturally frightened the villagers badly. For several nights they stopped
[775] up every nook and cranny of their houses to prevent Fanseni's spirit from entering and during the day frequently inspected his grave to make sure it was still undisturbed.

158 In the relative mildness of aggression and in the openly suicidal quality this case differs from three other cases of recognized insanity. It resembles the other cases in its obscenity. The suicidal quality in all
[689] these four cases must be recognized, however, since an uncontrollably violent person is apt to be killed. One woman, Matingmale, was actually killed by one of the victims of her destructiveness; another was spared only because of the intercession of her kin. The fourth case, a
[762] man, danced challenge in front of the government soldiers who came to avenge the murder of the radjah in 1918. Exposing one's body to bullets with only a carabao shield as protection can be interpreted only as suicidal in intent.

[787 828] All four of these instances were thought to be cases of spirit possession. If the diagnosis made so far about the lack of avenues for internal-

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159 her. So they said I must buy the girl. They said I was to search for a bride-price and they would search for a dowry, and on a given day we would exchange bride-price for dowry. This is not our custom. This is a Rualmelang custom. I said I had not slept with this girl. One morning I stood under their house and called out, "Come look at my penis. If it is wet, I have slept with your daughter. If it is dry, I have not slept with her." Karmating said, "My friend, do not open your loincloth and expose yourself." I was just joking. The girl and her mother came down, and the girl lied. She said I had slept with her. They said I lied. So the girl said we had better try the millet ordeal. When they had the millet boiling, they dropped a small round stone in it. I reached into the pot, found the stone, and pulled it out. I ran to the dance place and said to Lahatala [God], "Indeed, Lahatala, witness this. If I had slept with the woman, my hand would have been burned. If I had not slept with her, my hand would not have been burned. My hand is not burned. You people have accused me falsely." My hand was a little sore that day and I slept. But the next morning it was all right.

159 689 At this time chiefs had just been appointed and litigations had begun, but I used the old way, *do buor kalukok*. [He inserted ethnographic details, which I have deleted. He is recounting a system of forcing high payment through shaming the persons who have insulted him.] So I went to Alomale and asked for his pig, which he was raising in partnership with a woman. It was worth a Hiekbui [6-rupiah moko]. She did not want to give it to me and they quarreled. Alomale wounded it, and then he followed me and ceremonially demanded payment. So I gave him my Maningmauk [10-rupiah moko] for the pig.

159 584 Then I went to Lanpada and Moapada, who had accused me. They didn't want to pay me. They said the girl wanted to marry me and would carry a load of wood to my house next day. Six days went by before the girl came with the wood. She set it down far from the house and came to sit half on and half off the verandah. My mother called to her and told her to come up and cook, but she didn't want to. So I talked to her, and I discovered she did not have a big heart for me. She wanted to marry another man. So my mother gave her a squash and she went back to her own house. In six more days my aunt took the wood and carried it back to the girl's house. Then in six days I went again to call for my debt. This time there was a litigation involving five of us men who had slept in Malemai's house with this woman. Four of us who had not had intercourse had to pay fifty cents each. But Manilurka had tugged at her breasts and slept with her, so he had to pay a pig and a fine.